

and trustworthy. Such desire which exists very vividly in certain groups (NGOs and even political parties) has to be supported and strengthened by all means possible.

We trust that this briefing will create a more open-minded and positive discussion among us and with those who are longing to see an improvement in Indonesia.

Thank you very much for allowing us to come and share information with you.

MASS RIOTS IN INDONESIA
THE BEGINNING OF THE END

Generally, there are three social symptoms that are usually called "riot" in late 90's Indonesian press literature. The first is insurrection (unarmed popular uprising), the second is mob looting, and the third is widespread gang-fights that cause much destruction.

These three social symptoms begun to make their heavy presence after the 27th of July 1996 forced takeover of the PDI Headquarters in Jl. Diponegoro, Jakarta.

There were riots around the 1997 election. After that, until May 1998, situation seemed calm and under control.

But in May 1998, riot came back and took many victims. The riot broke after the military gunned down four Trisakti students demonstrating on the May 13th. The mass came in thousand in spirit of revenge. After small scale clashes with the police, the mass began burning and looting buildings.

What makes the May 14th-16th riot significant is the allegation that there were organized rapes done while riot was in progress. The facts show that there were a lot of rapes, while it remains to be proven legally that the rapes were organized deliberately.

The second fact that is quite shocking is that the military did admit that they have known all along that the riot was going to happen. The Chief Director of the BIA (Army Intelligent Service), Zacky Anwar Makarim said so (KOMPAS, September 3rd, 1998). Zacky also said that the presence of "local agitators" was known.

Riots broke again in July 1st-7th, 1998 in Jayapura, West Papua. A riot also broke in Kebumen, Central Java, on September 7th as a result of a personal quarrel between a shop owner and a local gangster (reports from local correspondent). Riot also broke in Bagansiapi-api, North Sumatra, on September 15th, as a result of personal quarrel between gangsters.

Then came the famous "ninja" rumors that said that several organized killers disguised as ninjas were on the loose and taking liberty to kill alleged "dunkun santet" (a kind of evil shaman). The rumors that begun spreading in Banyuwangi, East Java, in September 1998 has took lives of innocent kyais (Muslim religious leaders).

The most significant series of riots begun after the November 13th-14th uprising. On November 14th, a small-scale clash between the people and some military personnel nearly incite a riot. But the students managed to prevent it (KOMPAS, May 15th, 1998). But the student were caught by surprise when in Ketapang, North Jakarta, on November 15th, a riot broke. Riot of the same kind also occurred in Kupang, West Flores Island.

Another riot broke in Porsea, North Sumatra, on November 23rd. This time, the captured provocateurs revealed that they were paid and at the same time threatened not to rebuke the wish of the men that paid them (ANTARA, November 24th, 1998).

At the end of the year, a riot broke in Poso, Central Sulawesi, which occurred be-

tween December 25th and 30th. There are not many data on this riot.

At the same time, riot broke in Belawan, North Sumatra, which was incited by a personal quarrel between two of the population over a pair of shoes.

Then came the real shock when a usually peaceful city, Karawang, West Java, broke its tradition and fell into riot.

The second most significant area is Ambon, capital of Maluku islands, where a riot broke on January 19th, 1999.

What interesting is that one of the alleged provocateur confessed that there is an involvement of "people from Jakarta", though the local Police Commander won't disclose further (ANTARA, January 25th, 1999).

The systematic use of violence by intelligent services can be summed up if we read the manual (Vademecum of Defense and Security) issued by SESKOAD (Academy for Army Staff of Command) which usually produces top agents for those services. One of the chapters deals with the rule when using tortures on captured prisoners.

It is also well known that these intelligent services also make a full use of local gangster to intimidate the oppositions. There are paramilitary groups supervised directly by local army commands: AMS (Siliwangi Youth) trained, armed, and supervised by the 3rd Military Region (code-named Siliwangi), AMD (Diponegoro Youth) same treatment by 4th Military Region (code-named Diponegoro). When counter demonstration (which shows support to the government) arose, the participants usually came from these Youths or other Youths such as Pemuda Pancasila (Pancasila Youth) or Pemuda PancaMarga, the foremost-two whose leaders have personal relation with Suharto himself. This so-called "counter-demonstrations" usually aims for a violence physical contact between group making rally. These Youths always carry weapons, at occasions they carry guns.

It feels a little uncomfortable when we read that some of the riots were instigated by quarrels between local gangster. Or in Banyuwangi case, indicates a direct involvement of those criminals. Or in Porsea case, paid thugs carried out the whole job. It is also very possible that the ones starting looting the shops are also those criminals. They have guts to rob people in broad daylight, surely they would be the first to see that chaos is the best time to loot.

There has been a proof that there were provocateurs in May 14th-15th Riot. The possibility is very high that all other riots are also results of provocations. And Intelligent Services are the best in this business.

Washington, DC, Feb. 8, 1999.

Solidaritas Nusa Bangsa.

ESTER JUSUF, SH,
Chairwoman.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. CAROLYN B. MALONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 12, 1999

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, during rollcall vote No. 19 (Kucinich amendment to H.R. 391), I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea."

TRIBUTE TO HOUSE
IMPEACHMENT MANAGERS

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 12, 1999

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, as the impeachment trial to President Clinton approaches its final act, I want to pay tribute to the managers on the part of the House, led by my distinguished friend from Illinois, HENRY HYDE. I thank them for enduring vitriolic attacks by the media, the President's minions, their constituents, and, sadly, some of their colleagues as they defended the law. Few of us have been put to a such a severe test as these manager-colleagues to prove allegiance to our sworn oath to "protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

I worry about the moral health of our country when the modern-day justice system seems incapable of holding accountable celebrities who murder and presidents who lie. As has been asked so many times in recent weeks: "What do we tell our children?" Thankfully, we can hold up to the children men like our House managers as examples of Americans willing to sacrifice themselves for the benefit of our great nation.

I was unable to witness the closing arguments made by Mr. HYDE, but instead read his script. I consider him to be the House's finest orator and, as I read his statement, I imagined with my mind's eye his passionate call to duty. I only hope that his speech similarly stirred our Senate colleagues to "Let right be done."

I commend the entirety of Mr. Manager HYDE's closing argument to the attention of my colleagues.

CLOSING ARGUMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE
HENRY J. HYDE, IMPEACHMENT TRIAL MANAGER

Mr. Chief Justice, learned counsel, and the Senate, we are blessedly coming to the end of this melancholy procedure, but before we gather up our papers and return to the obscurity from whence we came, please permit me a few final remarks.

First of all, I want to thank the chief justice not only for his patience and his perseverance but for the aura of dignity that he has lent to these proceedings, and it has been a great thrill really to be here in his company as well as in the company of you distinguished senators.

Secondly, I want to compliment the president's counsel. They have conducted themselves in the most professional way. They have made the most of a poor case, in my opinion.

Excuse me. There's an old Italian saying, that has nothing to do with the lawyers, but to your case, and it says: "You may dress the shepherd in silk, but he will still smell of the goat."

But all of you are great lawyers and it's been an adventure being with you.

You know, the legal profession, like politics, is ridiculed pretty much, and every lawyer feels that and understands the importance of the rule of law—to establish justice, to maintain the rights of mankind, to defend the helpless and the oppressed, to protect innocents, to punish guilt. These are duties which challenge the best powers of man's intellect and the noblest qualities of the